

Message Text

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O 021625Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6038

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 CAPE TOWN 0679

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR SF US XA

SUBJ: NAMIBIA TALKS: PRIME MINISTER COMMENTS ON IMPORTANCE
TO SOUTH AFRICA: PRESS SPECULATES ON FOLLOW-UP

REF: CAPE TOWN 0668

1. SUMMARY: VORSTER TOLD POLITICAL PARTY GATHERING THAT
PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN TALKS, FURTHER MEETINGS WOULD
FOLLOW, AND HE COULD NOT SAY MORE. HE NOTED HOWEVER THAT
FACT OF TALKS MEANT SOUTH AFRICA'S IMPORTANCE IS BEING
MORE CLEARLY RECOGNIZED. OTHER PRESS REPORTS INDICATE
NEW POLITICAL FRONT MAY BE FORMED IN NAMIBIA TO CONTEST
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ELECTIONS WITH SWAPO, AND FURTHER HIGHER LEVEL MEETINGS
HAVE A CHANCE OF RESOLVING REMAINING ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

2. SPEAKING TO A NATIONAL PARTY RALLY AT VREDENTAL
EVENING APRIL 29, PRIME MINISTER VORSTER SAID HIS TALKS
WITH THE FIVE POWERS INVOLVED "CARDINAL MATTERS WHICH WILL
TO A HIGH DEGREE INFLUENCE SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE."

NOTING HE COULD SAY NO MORE ABOUT THE CURRENT ROUND OF TALKS, SINCE MORE WERE EXPECTED, VORSTER COMMENTED THAT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN TALKS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD (HE MAY HAVE BEEN REFERRING TO SERIES OF DISCUSSIONS DURING PAST YEAR RATHER THAN RECENTLY CONCLUDED TALKS ALONE).

3. WEEKEND ARGUS OF APRIL 30 DESCRIBED VORSTER'S REMARKS AT VREDENTAL IN FOLLOWING TERMS:

"FOR DECADES SOUTH AFRICA HAD BEEN ADDRESSED FROM AFAR AND SENSELESS DECISIONS HAD BEEN TAKEN AGAINST THE COUNTRY BECAUSE THE REPUBLIC WAS BEING IGNORED BY THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

SOME PROGRESS

"PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE BECAUSE SOUTH AFRICA COULD NO LONGER BE IGNORED. IT WAS NOW BEING REALIZED IT WAS IN EVERYONE'S INTERESTS TO SIT ROUND A TABLE AND TALK.

"HE WAS THANKFUL FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO PUT SOUTH AFRICA'S CASE AND ALSO TO BE ABLE TO SAY THAT THIS WAS AS FAR AS SOUTH AFRICA WAS PREPARED TO GO.

"IN THE PAST THREE YEARS HE HAD HAD IN-DEPTH DISCUSSIONS WITH A DOZEN WORLD STATESMEN, MOST OF WHOM DISAGREED WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICIES. THEY REALIZED, HOWEVER, THAT HE WAS NOT SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF A GOVERNMENT THAT WAS ABOUT TO FALL AND THAT HE WAS SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF ALL PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

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"MR. VORSTER SAID THE TIME WOULD COME WHEN AFRICA WOULD REALIZE IT WAS IN ITS OWN INTERESTS TO BE AT PEACE WITH SOUTH AFRICA. HE SAID SOUTH AFRICA HAD TRIED FOR DECADES TO SELL ITSELF TO EUROPE, BUT IT WOULD NOT SUCCEED UNLESS 'WE SELL OURSELVES TO AFRICA'.

"THERE WAS, HOWEVER, A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THOSE WHO SAID ONE SHOULD SELL ONESELF TO AFRICA AND THOSE WHO SAID ONE SHOULD SELL OUT TO AFRICA. IN ALL HIS TALKS WITH LEADERS IN AFRICA HE HAD ALWAYS STATED THE STANDPOINT THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD TO BE ACCEPTED AS IT WAS.

GOOD CONTACT

"MANY NASTY THINGS HAD BEEN SAID ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA AND THERE HAD BEEN MUCH HOSTILITY, BUT WHEREVER HE WENT IN AFRICA HE HAD EXPERIENCED NOTHING BUT THE GREATEST RESPECT.

"SOUTH AFRICA WAS TODAY ACCEPTED BY FRIEND AND FOE AS PART OF AFRICA."

4. CAPE TIMES OF APRIL 30 SAID THAT FACT FURTHER TALKS WERE ENVISAGED SHOWED THAT BASIS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION ON KEY ISSUES WAS LAID, ALTHOUGH "MANY DIFFICULT OBSTACLES ON THE WAY TO AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION REMAINS." WRITER TOM COPELAND SAID THAT THE FIRST WESTERN OBJECTIVE WAS TO PERSUADE THE SAG TO "HALT THE TURNHALLE PROCESS." IN RETURN THE WEST MAY NEGOTIATE ON AN ELECTION TO TAKE PLACE "UNDER INTERNATIONAL, NOT UN, SUPERVISION," AND ON A TURNHALLE MULTI-RACIAL PARTY COMPETING AGAINST SWAPO IN SUCH AN ELECTION. "THE WEST MAY ALSO AGREE TO GIVE SWA UNTIL DECEMBER NEXT YEAR TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE. THIS COULD ENABLE THE SAG TO POSTPONE ITS INDEPENDENCE LEGISLATION..."

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5. DIE BURGER OF MAY 2 SET FORTH A VIEW THAT DIFFERED IN SIGNIFICANT RESPECTS FROM THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE PRESS. UNDER THE HEADLINE "SA, WEST CAN COMPROMISE ON SWA," DIE BURGER REPORTED:
"THE CHANCES LOOK FAIRLY GOOD THAT THE FIVE WESTERN

COUNTRIES AND SA CAN COME TO AN AGREEMENT OVER THE TWO LARGEST STUMBLING BLOCKS.

"THE TWO PROBLEMS IN THE CONFERENCE WERE THE QUESTION OF SETTING UP AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THE CONCERN OF THE UN AND SWAPO ABOUT AN ELECTION TO TEST PUBLIC OPINION IN SWA.

"THESE MATTERS WILL APPARENTLY BE THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS ON THE AGENDA WHEN THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS TAKE PLACE.

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ALTHOUGH NO TIME OR PLACE HAS BEEN SET, IT IS EXPECTED THAT TALKS WILL TAKE PLACE BEFORE JUNE 6--THE DAY NAMED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AS THE LAST DAY ON WHICH DEBATE ON SA CAN BEGIN.

"ALTHOUGH THE WESTERN COUNTRIES APPARENTLY TRIED TO MOVE THE GOVERNMENT AWAY FROM SETTING UP AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN SWA, THE GOVERNMENT IS BOUND TO SUCH A PLAN AND WILL APPARENTLY GO FORWARD WITH IT.

"THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH AN ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY BEFORE INDEPENDENCE, HOWEVER, NEED NOT BE COMPLETELY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PLAN DRAWN UP BY THE TURNHALLE. CERTAIN MODIFICATIONS IN THIS CAN BE BROUGHT ABOUT.

"THERE WAS EVIDENTLY ALSO PROGRESS ON THE QUESTION OF ELECTIONS IN SWA, A QUESTION WITH WHICH THE UN IS CONCERNED AND THE WEST WAS INSISTING. IT APPEARS AS IF THE WAY IS OPEN FOR THE UN TO SEND OBSERVERS TO SUCH ELECTIONS AND THAT NAY PEACEFUL GROUP WILL BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE. THAT MEANS SWAPO CAN TAKE PART.

"IF THE UN DOES INDEED SEND OBSERVERS, IT WILL NOT BE A NEW PRINCIPLE. SEVERAL TIMES IN THE PAST UN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE VISITED SWA WITH THE APPROVAL AND FULL COOPERATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

"THESE VISITS INCLUDED MR. ARDEN-CLARKE IN THE FIFTIES, THE CARPIO-DE ALOA DELEGATION IN THE SIXTIES, AND VISITS BY TWO UN SECRETARIES GENERAL, DAG HAMMARSKJOLD AND KURT WALDHEIM.

"WHATEVER ELSE HAPPENS, IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL STAND BY ITS DECLARED POLICY THAT THE PEOPLE OF SWA MUST THEMSELVES DECIDE ON THEIR FUTURE.

"DURING LASTWEEK'S TALKS, A DELEGATION OF THE TURNHALLE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE WAS KEPT INFORMED AND CONSULTED ON EVERY STEP.

"ALTHOUGH THE WESTERN COUNTRIES LAST WEEK REFUSED TO SEE THE DELEGATION, IT IS NOT RULED OUT THAT THEY MIGHT MEET WITH THEM NEXT TIME."

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6. ARGUS AFTERNOON MAY 2 IDENTIFIED THE UNRESOLVED ISSUES AS FORM OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT, UN SUPERVISION OF AN ELECTION, AND SWAPO PARTICIPATION IN SUCH AN ELECTION. ARGUS THOUGHT IT UNLIKELY THAT SWAPO WOULD AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY ELECTION HELD AFTER ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. PAPER NOTES SWAPO CONDITION THAT SAG FORCES WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE WITHDRAWN BEFORE ANY ELECTION. PAPER NOTED THAT SAG IS COMMITTED TO ESTABLISH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. "LEGISLATION THIS SESSION TO PROVIDE FOR THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH WEST COULD BECOME THE MAJOR ISSUE THAT WILL DECIDE WHETHER INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN THE TERRITORY IS POSSIBLE." SAG SHOWED ITS FLEXIBILITY LAST WEEK, PAPER OBSERVED, BY CONSIDERING ADAPTATIONS TO "HAVE THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATION IN A FORM WHICH WOULD NOT BE ALONG THE LINES LAID DOWN BY THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE."

7. CAPE TIMES REPORTED MAY 2 THAT SWAPO SPOKESMEN HAD SET CONDITIONS FOR ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA. CITING PETER KATJAVIVI, SPEAKING FROM VIENNA, TIMES LISTED FOLLOWING AS SWAPO CONDITIONS:

- A. ELECTIONS MUST BE HELD ON NON-ETHNIC LINES.
- B. CONTROLLED BY UNITED NATIONS AND NO OTHER INTERNATIONAL GROUP.
- C. SOUTH AFRICA TO ABANDON PLANS TO ESTABLISH ETHNIC BASED TURNHALLE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.
- D. SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES MUST FIRST WITHDRAW FROM THE TERRITORY.

PAPER SAYS THAT SWAPO WOULD ENTER ELECTIONS IN WHICH TURNHALLE PARTICIPANTS CAMPAIGNED MERELY AS ANOTHER POLITICAL PARTY. REPORTER COPELAND NOTED THAT SAG SEEMED INTENT ON INSTALLING AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND ALLOWING ELECTIONS ONLY THEREAFTER, WHICH REMAINS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE WESTERN NATIONS, WHO WANT TO HALT THE TURNHALLE

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AMEMBASSY GABORONE

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8. SUNDAY TIMES FRONTPAGED ARTICLE BY FLEUR DE VILLIERS SAYING THAT SAG HAD MADE "SWEEPING CONCESSIONS" IN ACCEPTING PRINCIPLE OF FREE ELECTIONS WITH SWAPO PARTICIPATION. MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK IS WEST'S INSISTENCE THAT TURNHALLE INTERIM GOVERNMENT NOT BE INSTALLED, "AND ONCE AGAIN SOUTH AFRICA MAY BE FORCED TO BACK DOWN." REPORTER SAID "BOTH WESTERN AND TURNHALLE SOURCES SAID AFTER THE THREE-DAY MEETING THAT THE PLANNED INTERIM GOVERNMENT WAS A KEY AREA OF DISAGREEMENT. A WESTERN SOURCE SAID THAT THE WEST WOULD NEVER ACCEPT AN INTERIM TURNHALLE GOVERNMENT." UN CONTROL OF ELECTIONS PRECEDED BY A CAMPAIGN TO EDUCATE THE VOTERS IS ANOTHER WESTERN OBJECTIVE. WEST MIGHT FOREGO SWAPO DEMAND FOR FORMAL UNCLASSIFIED

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CONFERENCE BETWEEN ITSELF AND SAG IN FAVOR OF SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH MAJOR PARTICIPANTS INCLUDING SWAPO AND TURNHALLE. WEST ALSO REPORTED TO BE WILLING TO TAKE SOFTER LINE ON SWAPO DEMAND FOR IMMEDIATE SAG WITHDRAWAL OF MILITARY FORCES FROM NAMIBIA. WHILE SAG AND TURNHALLE ACCEPTED FREE ELECTIONS, UN PRESENCE WOULD HAVE TO BE LIMITED TO OBSERVER RATHER THAN SUPERVISORY ROLE. SOUTH WEST AFRICA SOURCES SAID, ACCORDING TO DE VILLIERS, THAT

PROPOSALS WOULD BE DISCUSSED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY BY FULL TURNHALLE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE. WEST'S POSITION AMOUNTS TO A DEMAND THAT SAG CONTINUE ITS MANDATE UNTIL ELECTIONS ARE HELD, WHICH POSES DILEMMA FOR VORSTER, BUT "THERE WERE STRONG INDICATIONS AT WEEK END THAT BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND TURNHALLE MIGHT BE WILLING TO BACK DOWN ON THE ISSUE. WESTERN SOURCES ARE CITED AS SAYING THAT SITUATION SURROUNDING TALKS IS STILL "VERY FRAGILE," WITH REACTION OF OTHERS INCLUDING SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS AN IMPORTANT UNKNOWN.

9. IN ANOTHER ARTICLE DATED WINDHOEK, ARGUS REPORTED THAT MOVES WERE UNDERWAY TO UNITE THE PARTIES REPRESENTED AT THE TURNHALLE INTO A POLITICAL FRONT OR ALLIANCE TO CONTEST ANY ELECTIONS HELD IN THE TERRITORY. THE PAPER ALSO CITED "RELIABLE SOURCES" AS SAYING THAT A REFERENDUM MIGHT BE HELD TO TEST WHATEVER CONSTITUTION IS DEvised FOR INDEPENDENCE BEFORE DECEMBER 31, 1978. "ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD SUBSEQUENTLY IN TERMS OF THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION." WHILE WESTERN COUNTRIES HAD ARGUED FOR SUPERVISION OF ELECTIONS BY THE UN, THE SAG HAD ARGUED IN FAVOR OF SOME FORM OF "INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO OBSERVE RATHER THAN SUPERVISE THE ELECTIONS" WITH ALL INTERESTED PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE COMMISSION. "SOURCES CLOSE TO THE TURNHALLE EMPHASIZED THAT THE CAPE TOWN TALKS DID NOT PRODUCE A HARD AND FAST AGREEMENT. MAJOR PROGRESS WAS MADE WHICH WOULD LEAD TO FURTHER CONSULTATIONS AND TALKS.

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THEY EMPHASIZED ALSO THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD DEFINITELY INSTITUTE AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN THE TERRITORY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THIS YEAR IN SPITE OF WESTERN DEMANDS FOR A POSTPONEMENT."BOWDLER

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